Sardra
Pakidai

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
198 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
[162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

252
184
285
[192] /51 cont./ The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant [438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter [192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

● [178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in. [426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the 114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is 252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is 174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with 285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed [177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

619 /75 cont./
651 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
576 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
574 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
622 been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
600 all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 ●178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. [648] That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 [192] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póláwan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manoera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canana, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manoera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

The day after our Makiritari crew had gone we betook ourselves and all our bags and baggage into a Shirian settlement. They were friendly people, somewhat scared of us, and attentive to our every move. All in all, we weren't sorry to have missed Frenario, who would undoubtedly have turned out to be some mangy and pretentious imbecile, lording it over everybody like some Asiatic despot. In talking about it to my companion, I summed up my attitude thus: 'If you're going among the Makiritari, take Makiritari with you. If you're going among Shirians, take Shirians.'

The itinerary we wanted to cover wasn't perfectly clear, even to ourselves: after all, our journey was taking us through one of the least explored parts of the world. But it was certain, at any rate, that we should be crossing territory inhabited by Shirians (especially Samatari and Guayca). It was even more certain that we should meet with no Makiritari or other people full of sweetness and light.

That same evening we picked out the men we wanted to take with us—though it would be more correct to say that we had them wished on us, because in this settlement, which lay hidden on the left bank of the Yevarehuri, five or six bends down, there weren't a great many Indians fit for the job. These were peaceable Shirians, but their living conditions were some of the most wretched we'd ever seen. It was really as if by the very fact of having given up their warlike habits, these people had forfeited their right to live as well as possible. From warriors, these people had gone to the extreme and become anchorites.

One man didn't want to come without bringing his wife and child—and the medicine-man!—along too. What was more, as crew-leader we had a man of middle age who was morally head of the little clan, and something more. His wife, with a baby boy at her breast, would also be coming. Then there were two boys, one of fifteen or so, the other of more tender years. Altogether it was the queerest crew two explorers of unknown territories could ever have put their faith in.

To gain time, we wanted to set out straight away, but our people gave us to understand that we must wait a day because they had something important to do. In the meantime, while ostensibly preparing the loads, they were anxious to have a good look at the equipment we were carrying. We let them get on with it, until they came to the pack containing the good old red cloth and other objects which might have been too much of a temptation for them: at this

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [192] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yanomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their [Paruritawä-tedi Group]
site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mämariböwei and Reyaboböwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyaboböwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyaboböwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966.

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.